Summary of Land Ownership Patterns

Social division	Amount of irrigated land	Amount of Lalmi land	% of Categories
Zamindar Beserk (large landowner)	12 jeribs	25 jeribs	4%
Mutawasit (Middle size land holdings)	4 jeribs	10 jeribs	20%
Zamindar Kochak (Small landowner)	1 jerib	2 jeribs	74%
Bay zamin (Landless)	None	none	2%

*Landless share croppers work on the farms of large landowners on a contract basis, the most common which stipulates a 1/ 4 ratio with the majority of inputs including ploughs, and fertilizer coming from the landless farmer.

Storage and Preservation of Food.

Women mainly involved in preservation activities.

Potatoes: An unlined hole is dug in the earth, the potatoes put in and covered once again with soil. Such holes are usually dug within the confines of the house.

Wheat/ Barley: Using the branches of Surkh Bayd trees (red willows), a basket is made and placed on the roof of the house. The basket is covered with mud and the wheat put inside.

Flour: Stored in a barrel shaped "Kandoo" made of mud and brick and kept inside the house on the ground. Small hole on the side from which the flour can be removed.

Wool and goat hair: Stored in a basket made of Surkh Bayd and kept in the house.
It's a thorough fair of goods from Dai Kundi, rather than a place to stop. No bazaar

Existing Local Technologies

Dari Name	English Name	Use/ Description
Nawoor	Check dam	Used to store water.
Karez	Tunnel to aquifer/ underground water source.	Channel to the source of water.
Band-e Aap	Gully Plug	In this case made quartz. Used to reduce the flow of water or the migration of top soil.
Diwari Mohafezatee-	Terracing	Stone structure used to reduce the flow rate and velocity of water by

a- Sell Aap		leveling the land into terraces.
Peche Bund	Bunding	Slowing the flow of water through a field.

Types of trees and vegetative cover

Dari Name	English Name	Use/ Description
Bodum	Walnut tree	Home consumption. Only recently introduced. Quantities at this stage too small for commercial sale.
Sayeb	Apple tree	Home consumption. Only recently introduced. Quantities at this stage too small for commercial sale.
Surkh Bayd	Red Willow	Branches used for making baskets and fuel.
Zardaloo	Apricot	Home consumption. Only recently introduced. Quantities at this stage too small for commercial sale.
Chanar	Poplar	Construction of houses, fuel.
Pawlee		Fodder for sheep, goats, oxen, cows, donkeys. The plant produces an oil which may have commercial value.
Ghree Gho		Fodder for sheep, goats and cows. Horses and donkeys don't eat and it is harmful for humans to touch the flower- often leads to a burning rash.
Bootha		Freshly eaten by goats and sheep. Used as fuel.
Sul Bee		Used only for fuel.
Baldargo		Eaten by all animals, fresh or dry.
Gaz	Tamarisk	Used for fuel only.
Rishka	Alfalfa	Used for fodder for all animals.
Gul-e-Boran		Eaten fresh by sheep and goats.
Butrang ghor		Fodder for oxen and cows.
Poodee Nah		Grows close to rivers. Eaten by humans with their food. Used also for fodder both fresh and dry.
Kamaei		Eaten only by donkeys, horses, sheep and goats.
Khar Gul		Not eaten by animals. People use for medicine once boiled, particularly for heart problems.
Qaf		Both humans and animals eat it. People mix it with vegetables. Animals eat it fresh and dry. Grows close to water.
Shi Risk		Used by people for glue. Sometimes used in cooking with vegetables.
Sherak Alaf		Used by animals. Eaten by all. Sometimes eaten fresh by people.
Terriyog Washee	Wild poppy	Used only as ornament by people, but is eaten by animals.
Shek Rak		Dry fodder for animals only. Animals do not eat when

		fresh.
Kow Ku tee		Used as medicine. Often collected by people and sold in the bazaar. During the time of Taleban, Kow Ku tee sold for 8000 afs./ kg. Not used for fodder.

Fruit Tree Life Cycle

Almond

Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	[illegible]
			Germination	Flowering				Harvesting	Planting		

Apricot

Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
			Germination (irrigation after 15 days).				Harvesting		Planting		

Apple

Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
			Germination				Harvesting		Planting		

Crop Cultivation

Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
First month of spring until 15th of following month is ploughing fields for wheat and barley. Around 25th of second month of spring the irrigation starts.	Barley harvested the second month of summer.	Wheat harvested from the end of summer to the end of the first month of Autumn.	

Shinya Tahkt- *Narrative Overview*

Context

Though varying colours, qualities and grades are described by farmers, the soil of Shinya Tahkt is generally characterised by little organic matter, is sandy, highly weathered and requiring of frequent irrigation. Such a reality sits in poignant contrast to the very real, very pressing shortage of water, which, while perhaps a structural and cyclical feature of the ecological landscape, is a significant constraint to agricultural development in the area and has been identified by the community as a primary vulnerability to their livelihoods.

The communities of Shinya Tahkt, at between 2800 and 2901 metres in altitude, nestle below the Tahkt pass (Kotal-e-Tahkt) and follow the diminishing remains of the Saree Tahkt river. The villages, averaging 10- 15 households, lay claim to an assortment of physical, human, natural, social and financial assets, all of which are exposed to both ever present, and ever changing vulnerabilities. The political context of the region appears stable, with three commanders of diminishing influence being either generally receptive to, if not encouraging of, the activities of NGO's and the development initiatives of the local population. The "neutrality" of Waras during the Taleban period when the region was largely under the control of Commander Akbari, spared the district in general and the valley in particular, much of the destruction to lives and infrastructure experienced in other parts of the Province. However, the area covered by the baseline survey remains socially conservative, with women permitted limited access to education, existing with extensive restrictions on their movement, competing time demands, and long distances to meetings. Marriage rules remain determined by kinship and genealogical links continue to form the basis of social relations, and by implication, social structure.

The cumulative effect of such factors inevitably reduces women's ability to have an impact on community decision making processes. Partly as a consequence, but also as a result of other factors, institutions with the facility to make decisions tend to be composed of elite male members of the community, who may, or perhaps more frequently not, consult their wives.

The space in which women exist, revolves, generally, regardless of class and wealth group, around the collection of water, fodder, and fuel wood, whilst men tend to undertake the physically heavier tasks of ploughing, harvesting and threshing. Interestingly, increased school attendance of children has reduced the family labour pool and has subsequently amplified the demands placed on all remaining family members, especially women.

Suffering from its isolation and limited access to markets, assets in Shinya Tahkt are particularly vulnerable to the implications of changes in trends, shocks and seasonalities, to variabilities and changes in institutions, practices of government, cultural and social policies.

In Shinya, the wind blows east to west during the day and west- east during the night. It is a dry, unfurling, resinous landscape of rugged, barren rounded summits and steep, narrow, deeply shadowed valleys. The south facing hills, are, in some places, a sheer wall of stone, protruding chunks of quartz, rubble and barren unfertile, sun burnt earth, offering no foot hold for life. The paucity of good arable land, exacerbated in many cases by highly weathered soil and primarily wind based erosion, extensive tree- less grazing areas, a harsh climate, limited crop potential, low yields, and dependence on water from snow fall, has led to an acute fragility of existence with only the minority of farmers self-sufficient in stable foods. The sale of livestock to compensate for financial short comings is common place and a significant proportion of farmers are forced to seek secondary livelihood activities such as labouring, migration, the borrowing of money, and the sale of capital assets.

Factors which have contributed to the emergence and sustenance of the current ecological situation can, to varying degrees, be attributed to de- forestation, over grazing, disrepair and deferred maintenance of water management structures, low efficiency of water use and uncontrolled expansion of water usage. However, if the population of Shinya Tahkt are to be seen as continuing inappropriate resource management mechanisms, it is perhaps because the past to them is their homeland, and the present, a foreign land where nothing belongs to them, where the result is unknown, so that every thing that is a symbol of progress to the outsider, is to them a symbol of the unknown, of threat. Importantly, however, there is significant evidence of the willingness of farmers to adopt new practices once success is proven, even if they contradict tried methods and even if the risk is ruin rather than simple misfortune. Any examination of Shinya Tahkt, it's people and environment, is, therefore, simultaneously a lesson in isolation, deprivation, physical hardship, the constraints of a subsistence existence and history, as well as an investigation of endurance, latent potential, initiative and the ability to blend local knowledge with external possibilities. The Baseline survey has shown, clearly, that any intervention in the area must account for local ideas and experience, must pay head to the existing asset base, livelihood strategies and coping mechanisms and must seek to marry indigenous technologies and methodologies to external ideas and innovations.
In that context, and to a certain extent because of it, the imprint of Waras's marginalized and feudal past still conditions relationships between the landless and landowners, determining systems of patronage and employment throughout much of the district

Physical Assets
Recent work by NGO's has gone some way to improving the physical asset base of the area. The LEPCO clinic and school construction programmes of AKF and AFRANE, OXFAM's work on Qota's Karez and a number of wells by UNHCR/ RCDC has played an important part in developing a significant physical asset base for the communities in the catchment areas. Fundamental to the valleys general development has been, and will continue to be, the road currently running through the centre of the valley and linking Dai Kundi to Waras Centre and so on to Kabul and other markets. Homesteads hug the mountain and our found predominantly on the "petab side" where the sunshine is strongest and the snow subsequently recedes the most quickly. The walls of the houses

borrow the colours of the earth and stone on which they stand and from which they have arisen. Families build next to one another, with units massed tightly together, melding into each other with roof space shared for the storage of wheat and other foods. Animal stalls are often affixed to the road facing section of houses with semi- circular stone structures for the keeping of fodder placed further up the hill. Membars (Mosques) or Tekhiya Khana's are found in each village acting both as centres of social and religious life.

Each village has at least one well, with 3 communities having karez's.

Natural Assets.

Natural assets of the area have been tentatively addressed with the introduction of improved varieties of wheat seed, livestock vaccinations, and small, privately run nurseries. However, in general, natural assets remain highly vulnerable to a series of factors, an issue of obvious concern given that the vast majority of the population obtains their income from agriculture, and to a diminishing extent, livestock.

Main cultivated crops include wheat, both irrigated, (sown in the Spring, though some cold tolerant varieties introduced by NGO's has meant that Autumn varieties may now be sown as well), and rainfed (sown in the Spring), barley, often cultivated on the higher rainfed lands, and Shaftal (clover), sown along river beds or reliable sources of water.

Rainfed farming is opportunistic, broad casting seed as much as chance.

Food security rests on wheat and wheat products and to a lesser extent barley. Early snow fall, declining availability of water, attacks of rust and the voracious appetite of birds are significant hazards. Black Rust/ Red rust, and insects have contributed significantly to declining yields.

The rise in the number of "Mush" (rodents), a cyclical phenomenon corresponding to the dry period is also a vulnerability. Mush usually target the alfalfa with their homes pock marking almost all farmers fields in the valley.

Most rainfed wheat is local, often better tasting once transformed into bread and more resistant to attack from birds than its genetically modified and recently introduced relatives.

Social Assets

Though exclusively male and largely dominated by the larger landowners, the Shura system is becoming increasingly well organized around the various development activities currently underway in the area with often lively meetings where many voices are heard. It is expected that the introduction of NSP in the area is likely to strengthen community wide structures and communications still further, making for a more representative and answerable institution.

There has traditionally been a series of water committees based around wells and Nawoors. They are responsible for the allocation and timing of water distribution at the household/ community level. Private conversations with the head of shura have suggested that a valley wide water committee exists, but the baseline survey did not produce any significant evidence of such a body.

In recent months, AKF has established a Project Management Committee associated with the construction of the school. The institution is currently in its infancy and requires more work in order to strengthen its ability to function effectively.

Each village has a mosque or Tekhiyakhana which acts as both a social and religious centre. As a social entity the Tekhiyakhana is the organizing force for the distribution of alms and charity, as a point from which information is dispersed and where people gather in order to relax, meet with friends and relatives and is often the scene of more formal village meetings.

The current shura, established in March 2002 has 12 representatives of 10 areas:

Village of representative	Number of representatives
Shinya	1
Now-e-Towa	1
Qota	2
Shutur Morda	1
Tahir	2
Takhtak	1
Sang-e- Dukhan	1
Sia Bomak	1
Rashak	1
Tashnaw	1

The Moyee Safayed (white beards) exist as a powerful institution in themselves and it has been stated that members of the shura will often consult with the Moyee safayed when decisions need to be taken.

Women have no formal institutions, but it is recognized that they have the opportunity to meet and discuss at weddings, funerals and during religious festivals.

Financial Assets

Sources of income are, upon closer examination, surprisingly diverse, though restricted to a small number of households and families.

Both the carpenter and blacksmith in Shinya earn cash for their work, but are often also paid in kind.

There is a family of traders who, owning a truck, are able to transport livestock and other goods to and from the market.

Women are able to generate some income through the sale of chickens and other poultry products, but are generally restricted in income generation possibilities.

A small number of men are working for NGO's. They tend to be the financially wealthiest of people in the community. Other means of cash income include teachers, one small shop keeper and, interestingly, a young female shepherdess from Shinya who is paid in cash at the end of the year for looking after all of the animals in the village.

Most crops are consumed though bags of wheat, Urea and DAP are often sold within and between communities.

The sale of livestock is a significant form of income generation and is usually preferred to entering into debt arrangements which incur high interest rates and can lead to the loss of land.

AKDN is currently building a school for cash for work. This has given income earning opportunities to both the skilled and unskilled alike.

Human Assets

Education and health levels in the valley for both men and women are low with women in particular suffering widely from ill health and illiteracy. Of women who are beyond school going age, only 5 claimed they were able to read and write.

There are skills available, however, upon which development initiatives by the community can be built. Many women in each village claim they have carpet weaving and stitching abilities, others have been trained in basic health and hygiene (one woman said all women received such training, whilst all other women have claimed that none, or only a few, have received some formal training in anything).
Most young children go to school, though attendance varies according to the season and wealth group. Those children who do not go to school do not because of obligations to the household, because other siblings are going and the family cannot afford to have their labour lost. Some young girls who do not go to school claim that it is because the facilities at the current school are poor and there are too many children.

Teacher training programmes by AFRANE and AKDN have increased the capacity of teachers.

Few men have skills beyond those needed to maintain their lands. However, in Shinya especially, a number of males have carpentry and metallurgy skills, have enough education to be teachers and qualify as skilled labourers for construction projects.

Vulnerabilities

Pests: A black fly for the animals has caused diseases. Roughly 30% of animals suffer from it.

Water shortage: Acute water shortage throughout the valley. However, the baseline was undertaken at time when irrigation was occurring. Currently, post- harvest, many of he Nawoors have refilled. It is very difficult to guage how much the water level has dropped compared to previous years, but famers have said consistently that 2004 has been the worst year in the six years since water shortages have been most severely felt.

Human illness: Wide ranging. 60% of children suffer some form of diarrhea. Older men claim problems with their eyes and women suffer from an assortment of problems whilst giving birth.

Crop disease: Surkhi "rust"
Sia Kak "black rot"

Distance to markets: Closest bazaar, DringGak is 1 hours drive away. The bazaar until recently was small, offering few commodities. This is changing, but historically farmers have needed to travel to Kabul or Maydan Shah for their purchasing needs. Shinya Tahkt, lying awkwardly between Dai Kundi and the Shar-i-Naw, as well as having no bazaar, is passed through by trucks enroute to larger markets.

Band-e-Kosa, where namads are sold and the bazaar is growing in size is three hours drive away, or a full days walk over the mountains.

Debt: Those who borrow need to pay back pay back 50% more at year end. Numbers of those in debt and the extent to which they are indebt vary hugely. More work needs to be done in this area in order to develop an accurate quantifiable picture of the situation.

Altitude and weather: Temperatures as low as -21 during the winter. High temperatures during the summer. There has, however, been a decline in snow fal in recent years which has meant less water in the spring/ summer months.

Lack of livestock: Numbers of livestock have dramatically reduced over the last 6 years dry period. As crop yields have declined, so farmers have had to sell livestock for cash or commodities. The failed poppy crop of 2003 meant that many farmers sold more than 80% of their livestock.

Size of landholdings: Average size of land holdings between 1-2 jeribs.

Deforestation: Often insufficient wood for fuel and many families run out before the end of winter. There is little evidence to suggest that Shinya has been heavily forested in recent history. However, it is clear that deforestation along the river bed and the removal of vegetative cover from the mountain sides has increased the amount of wind erosion.

Migration

The Baseline survey indicated that people are thinking seriously about moving out of Shinya Tahkt if the current situation continues for another year. Currently 19 families have already done so. Given that individuals from the area are usually unable to generate sufficient income from employment in urban centres to send as remittance monies to the family in Waras, essentially because of their low skill base, people, if they do move, move whole sale, with entire families either selling off their land (least common) or leaving it in the hands of extended family (most common). Another "push" factor for migration, beyond the consequences of water shortage is that rural populations are increasingly aware of the potential financial benefits of urban life, and its supposed ease of existence when compared to rural life.

Poppy

Shinya Tahkt is not a traditional poppy growing area. However, the potential for significant financial reward, eradication in other parts of the country, the fact that poppy requires less water than other crops, and that it is a source of income and labour encouraged 90% of farmers to grow the crop on an average of 75% of their land in 2003.

A general lack of poppy cultivation skill, coupled with a disease which did not affect wheat or barley, in concert with low prices, however, robbed many farmers of expected financial benefits, and became the principal explanation for the choice of many, but not all farmers, not to re- grow poppy in 2004[2]. It was noted, however, that neighbouring Qarganatoo, while growing less, has continued this year to cultivate the crop. While it is speculation only, the decision to re-plant may have come from their proximity to other, more significant poppy growing areas, or that the disease which so ravaged other parts of the district, did not affect them. Qarganatoo, however, has greater access to water, and it is possible that the population felt that, by virtue of having more water, they can afford to retry. This sentiment was given added impetus by members of the Shinya Tahkt community who claimed that, should more water be available, they too would re-grow, apparently regardless of the possibility of disease, indicating clearly that poppy remains the main substitute crop for farmers in terms of returns and for the improvement of livelihoods. There lurks, perhaps, in the mind of farmers, the prospect of rising poppy prices compensating for the risk associated with cultivation.

Currently, however, particularly in Shinya Tahkt, with few agricultural opportunities available, and the local economy severely affected by last years failed poppy crop, communities have turned increasingly to the secondary livelihood activities of sporadic local employment, migration, and in some cases, the borrowing of money. Most crucial, however, has been the sale of assets. In previous years, livestock owners would sell one or two animals out of an average flock of 12- 15 sheep and 2- 3 cows. Last year, after the failure of the poppy crop, an average of 8-10 animals were sold in order to compensate for losses.

[2] post- Baseline survey, it was seen that the villages of Rashak, Tahktak and Naw-e-Tawa had all tried to re-grow, though in smaller amounts. Rashak has continued as the most significant cultivator of the crop with up to a jerib under cultivation.

BASELINE SURVEY

SHINYA TAHKT, Waras

July 2004

Communities appear to have justified cultivation as a means of ensuring survival, enhancing livelihoods and increasing opportunities, rather than growing something which is both illicit and unnecessary.

An Average Man's Four Seasons

Winter

Time	Activity
5.30- 6.00 am	Morning prayer
6.00-7.00 am	having breakfast
7.00- 12.00	rest
12.00- 1.00	having lunch
1.00-3.00	Resting and meeting with different people
3.00- 4.00	Praying
4.00- 5.00	feeding the animals
5.00- 7.00	Praying and reading the Holy Quoran
7.00- 11.00	Having dinner and listening to the radio
11.00pm- 5.30 am	Sleeping

Spring

Time	Activity
12.00- 3.00	Sleeping
3.00- 4.00	prayer
4.00- 7.00 am	ploughing the land and cultivating crops
7.00- 8.00	Having breakfast
8.00- 1.00 pm	Ploughing the land
1.00- 2.00 pm	Having lunch
2.00- 6.00 pm	Ploughing the fields
2.00- 6.00 pm	Ploughing the fields
6.00- 7.00	Prayer
7.00- 8.00	Eating dinner and preparing for bed

Summer

Time	Activity
12-4.00 am	Sleeping
4.00- 5.00 am	Prayer
5.00- 7.00 am	Cutting grass
7.00- 8.00 am	Having breakfast
8.00- 12.00	Cutting and collecting grass
12.00- 2.00 pm	Eating lunch and prayer
2.00 pm- 6.00 pm	Cutting and collecting grass
6.00- 7.00 pm	Prayer and rest
7.00-8.00 pm	Eating dinner
8.00- 9.00 pm	sitting with family members

Autumn

Time	Activity
12- 5.00 am	Sleeping
5.00- 6.00 am	Prayer
6.00- 9.00 am	Threshing the crops
9.00- 10.00 am	Breakfast
10.00- 1.00	Threshing the crops
1.00- 2.00	Having lunch
2.00- 4.30 pm	Threshing the crops
4.30- 6.00 pm	Praying
6.00- 8.00 pm	Meeting in the mosque, listening to the news, talking to family
8.00- 12.00 pm	Sleep

Break down by Village

QOTA

Qota is the only village investigated under the baseline and other surveys which revealed a woman who owns her own land. She inherited it from her father who had produced no competing sons. Khadija is an old woman now, very charming, her hair has long turned grey in thick silvery plaits, very dark, huge eyed, a voice as quiet as a prayer.... and as powerful. She arrived at the meeting late, unhurried, and unrepentant. She's impressive rather than elegant. Her children, she said, work for her and she made no effort to disguise the fact that they should, that they were substantially lazier than she ever was and that she aspired to a certain degree of comfort should the time ever arise that her children would make enough money.

- From an asset/ livelihood point of view, Qota is one of the poorest of Shinya's villages.
- No seed bank exists because of poor yields in proceeding years and the lingering concern that AKDN would return and take back the loan of seed.
- Small amounts of Qoroot are produced, kept in baskets hanging from the walls of houses to protect it from animals and presumably children, but because of reduced numbers of livestock, amounts produced are not commercially viable.
- Traders take animals and trees to markets in Mazar-e Sharif, Kabul, Sia Khak and Pul-i- Khumri and return with goods rather than cash. Famers acknowledge the problems of such an arrangement but feel unable to alter the situation.
- Small patches of poppy, less than a jerib, lurk between potato fields, barley and wheat. A disease affected the crop in its first year, greatly reducing yields and appears to have done the same in its second. Returns, once again, are not expected to be significant, but the fact that famers were willing to try another time suggests, perhaps, that the reward was worth the risk, or that the returns, though reduced, were still greater than other cash crops.

- Average 1-2 jeribs of land per farmer.

Qota

Assets	Type of Asset
Natural	• 1 Karez • 1 natural spring • Fruit trees- apricot and apple.

	• Cropping dependant on snow fall. • Livestock numbers have fallen over time, largely as a result of disease, drought and the sale of livestock to mitigate debt, or before the winter in order to purchase food. • Accute shortage of water for irrigation. • Irrigated and rain fed lands. • Short cropping season • Grazing land on top of hills. • Situated next to a river which is running dry. • Reasonably good quality soil, though highly weathered. • Small land holdings • Diminishing levels of mountain fodder.
Human	• Mostly farmers with small landholdings. • Furthest village from Shinya centre and furthest from schools and clinic. • Limited levels of education amongst men and very limited levels of education amongst most women. • Some skills of tailoring and carpentry exist.
Physical	• Stall for animals. • Stone storage spaces for fodder. • Next to road • Houses, though poor are in reasonably good condition. • 1 well • structure to protect spring built by OXFAM • Karez rebuilt by OXFAM • No shops • 1 mosque
Social	• Shura • Women meet informally at weddings, funerals and occasionally gather to discuss particular issues. • "Water councils", composed of households around wells, springs and irrigation canals exist. They have a rotating means of control, whereby one household will manage the water for a a set period of time, before another household takes over.
Financial	• Few sources of income beyond farming, though some NGO projects have given some the opportunity for cash. The new school to be built by AKDN in neighbouring Shinya valley will provide cash to labourers. AFRANE is building a boys school using food for work. • Possible income from cash has been reduced by the effects of the drought. • The sale of animals at the end of the year means that farmers are selling at a time when the price for livestock is lowest.

	• Current skills such as weaving and masonary are not organised in such a way as to generate significant amounts of income. • Debts are increasing. • Sale of poppy, though poor yield last year and expected this year. • Sale of chickens by women has earned them small amounts of cash.

Daily Winter Activities
Middle Income Group
Interviewee-
Female
Zahra

Time	Activity
12-6 am	Sleeping
6-6.10 am	Prayer
6.10-7.00 am	Eating breakfast
7- 9	Preparing wood for the fire, cleaning the kitchen and washing the dishes.
9-11	Preparing food for lunch and cleaning the rest of the house.
11-12	Rest and relaxation- drinking tea and preparing for the others.
12-12.30	Washing the dishes.
12.30- 4	Breaking blocks of salt to add to food. Scratching wool to prepare for spinning.
4- 4.10	Praying
4.10- 5	Bringing water for the animals.
5- 6.10	Preparing the dinner.
6.10- 7	Preparing fodder for the animals.
7-8	Resting and drinking tea.
8- 8.30	Speaking to family members.
8.30- 12	Preparing for sleep and sleeping.

Daily Winter Activities
Middle Income Group
Interviewee-
Female
Zahra

Time	Activity
12- 4 am	Sleep
4- 4.10	Prayer
4.10- 5	Cleaning the stable of animals
5- 6	Collection of wood for fire and preparing the stove.
6- 7	Breakfast
7- 11.	Preparing wool for spinning, washing the dishes, cleaning the house
11- 12	preparing lunch.
12- 1	eating lunch. Collecting grass and preparing the fodder for the animals.
1-2	Resting
2- 3	General work around the house.
3- 4	Preparing dinner.
4-5	Feeding the animals.
5-7	Eating dinner and chatting with the family.
7- 8.30	Preparing food for the following day.
8.30- 9.00	Getting ready for bed and sleeping.

Daily Autumn Activities
Middle Income Group
Interviewee-
Female
Zahra

Time	Activity
12-4 am	Sleeping
4- 4.10 am	Prayers
4.10- 5.00 am	Preparing food for breakfast.
5.00- 6.00	Preparation of food.
6.00- 6.30	Feeding the animals and cleaning the stable.
6.30- 7.00	Making bread and preparing wool for spinning.
7.00- 11.00	General work around the house including, washing of dishes, cleaning, as well as collecting fodder in the fields
11.00- 12.00	Preparing lunch.
12.00- 5.00	Collecting the wheat harvested in the field then praying.
5.00- 6.00	Washing dishes and cleaning the house.
6.00- 7.00.	Milking the cows and preparing for dinner
7.00- 8.00	Cooking and general chores around the house.
8.00- 10.00	Talking to family members and preparing to sleep.

Daily Spring Activities
Wealth Group- Middle
Zahra

Time	Activity
12.00-4.00 am	Sleep
4.00-4.10 am	Prayer
4.10- 5.00.	Preparing tea for herself and the workers
5.00- 6.00	Eating
6.00- 6.30	Milking the animals

6.30- 9.00	Collecting wood for making fire. Making bread, cleaning the stove.
9.00- 10.00	Cleaning the house and washing the dishes. General house work.
10.00- 11.00	Grazing the animals and clearing the stables.
11.00- 12.00	Bringing water from the stream.
12.00- 1.00	Preparing and eating lunch.
1.00-3.00	Taking grasses from the mountain and cutting it into small pieces.
3.00- 4.00	Looking after the children and washing their clothes.
4.10- 6.00	Praying
6.00- 7.00	Giving grass to the animals.
7.00- 9.00	Preparing dinner.
9.00- 12.00	Eating dinner and talking to the rest of the family.

Daily Winter Activities
Middle Income Group
Interviewee-
Female
Zahra

Time	**Activity**
12- 6.00	Sleep
6.00- 6.10	Prayer
6.10- 7.00	Eating of breakfast
7.00- 9.00	Cleaning the stove, brining water, collecting wood for the fire, washing the dishes, making tea.
9.00- 11.00	Making bread and cleaning the house.
11.00- 12.00	Preparing lunch and eating.

12.00- 12.30	Washing the dishes.
12.30- 4.00	Stitching clothes, collecting and scratching the wool, and resting.
4.00- 4.10	Praying
4.10- 5.00.	Providing water for the animals
5.00- 6.00	Preparing dinner.
6.00- 7.00	Eating dinner.
7.00- 8.00	Giving fodder to the animals.
8.00- 8.30	Spending time talking to the family.
8.30- 12.00	Preparation of the room and sleep.

Daily Spring Activities
Middle Income Group
Mohammed Rahim

Time	**Activity**
12- 4.30	Sleep
4.30- 5.30	Prayer
5.30- 6.30	Preparing fodder for the animals.
6.30- 12.00	Cultivation of lands and ploughing the fields. Collection of bushes from both the irrigated and rainfed lands.
12.00- 2.00	Eating lunch and praying.
2.00- 6.00	Irrigating the crops and collecting poor quality bushes from the land.
6.00- 9.00	Eating. Resting. Meeting with friends in the mosque.
9.00- 12.00	Sitting with the family. Sleeping.

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Daily Summer Activities
Middle Income Group
Mohammed Rahim

Time	Activity
12.00-5.00 am	Sleep
5.00- 6.00	Provide food for the animals
6.00- 7.00	Beakfast
7.00- 12.00.	Ploughing the fields, weeding, cultivating, irrigating the land, begin storing grasses and crops for the winter
12.00- 1.00	Lunch time and prayer.
1.00- 6.00	Return to the field to cultivate the land.
6.00- 8.00	Eat dinner.
8.00- 10.00	Gathering at the house with the family or sitting in the mosque.
10.00- 12.00	Sleep

Daily Winter Activities
Middle Income Group
Mohammed Rahim

Time	Activity
12- 5.30 am	Sleep
5.30- 6.00 am	Prayer
6.00- 7.30 am	Breakfast plus food for the animals
7.30- 12.00 am	Gathering of friends/ relatives in the home.
12.00- 1.00.	Lunch and prayer
1.00- 6.00	Feeding of the animals. Cleaning of the stable.
6.00- 8.00	Prayers and dinner.

8.00- 9.00	Sitting with the family.
9.00- 12.00	Sleeping.

Daily Autumn Activities
Middle Income Group
Mohammed Rahim

Time	**Activity**
12.00- 5.00 am	Sleep
5.00- 6.00	Prayer
6.00- 7.30	Breakfast and the feeding of animals.
7.30- 12.00	If the weather is good they will bring the fodder to the house or work around the house preparing for the winter.
12.00- 1.00	Lunch and prayer.
1.00- 6.00	Harvesting the wheat and other crops. Carrying the harvest to the house.
6.00- 7.00	Prayers
7.00- 8.00	Dinner
8.00- 9.00	Listening to the radio and drinking tea.
9.00-	Sleep

NAW-E-TOWA

- The level of intimacy between the villages of Qota and Now-e- Towa extends well beyond worldly questions of water allocation and pasture land, into the next. Inter- marriage is common and both share a common grave yard.

- Many have tried planting fruit tress in the area. All have failed.

- In order to conserve water the inhabitants of Now-e- Towa, as elsewhere throughout the valley, cover the dregs of winter snow with soil in order to reduce its evaporation rates and increase percolation into the soil.

Now-e- Towa

> *Mohammed Ali, though middle aged, had a youthful masculinity that grits its teeth in proud modesty. His hair was separated into long honeyed strands like the furrows he had ploughed in his fields. His forehead was corrugated by deep wrinkles.*
> *"NGO's" he announced" have broken the community apart... people no longer work together.....they will soon leave and everything they have done will fall apart".*

Assets	Type of Asset
Natural	• 1 Natural Spring (fresh water) • Cropping dependant on snow fall. • Livestock numbers have fallen over time, largely as a result of disease, drought and the sale of livestock to mitigate debt, or before the winter in order to purchase food. • Accute shortage of water for irrigation. • Irrigated and rain fed lands. • Short cropping season • Grazing land on top of hills. • Situated next to a river which is running dry. • Reasonably good quality soil, though highly weathered. • Trees: Poplar, almond, apple, apricot. • Small land holdings • Access to diminishing levels of mountain grasses and fodder.
Human	• Most of the population are farmers, with small land holdings averaging between 1-4 jeribs of land. • 9% have some skill as stone masons. • 20% of the girls go to school, where 30% of boys attend. • LEPCO clinic near by dealing with basic medical care, though difficulties in the delivery of children by women occurs throughout the winter.

	• Generally few skilled women. • Traditional farming skills. • Functioning shura. • No winter employment for men or women.
Physical	• One tekhiya Khana (mosque) • Road • Mill (not functioning) • Houses, all reasonably well maintained. • No shop • 2 Wells • no clinic in the village, nor school for either boys or girls. However, the community do have access to both reasonably close by.
Social	• a Mullah. • Shura • Women meet informally at weddings, funerals and occasionally gather to discuss particular issues. • "Water councils", composed of households around wells, springs and irrigation canals exist. They have a rotating means of control, whereby one household will manage the water for a a set period of time, before another household takes over.
Financial	• Few formal institutions • Few sources of income beyond farming, though some NGO projects have given some the opportunity for cash. The new school to be built by AKDN in neighbouring Shinya valley will provide cash to labourers. • Possible income from cash has been reduced by the effects of the drought. • The sale of animals at the end of the year means that farmers are selling at a time when the price for livestock is lowest. • Current skills such as weaving and masonary are not organised in such a way as to generate significant amounts of income. • Debts are increasing. • Sale of poppy, though poor yield last year and expected this year.

Food Security
Interviewee: A. Hussein
Poor Wealth Group

Approx. Month	Level of food Security	Details
January	**1**	Eat three meals a day.

February	**1**	Sell livestock in order to buy more food.
March	**1**	Sell livestock in order to buy more food.
April	**0**	Sell livestock in order to buy more food.
May	**0**	Borrows money from the bazaar in order to buy food.
June	**0**	Borrows money from the bazaar in order to buy food.
July	**1**	Borrows money from the bazaar in order to buy food.
August	**1**	Eats food he has harvested.
September	**2**	Eats food he has harvested.
October	**2**	Eats food he has harvested.
November	**2**	Eats food he has harvested.
December	**2**	Eats food he has harvested.

Food Security
Interviewee: M. Ashaq
Poor Wealth Group (Share cropper)

Month	**Level of food Security**	**Details**
January	**1**	Works in the field of the land owner for 25% of the crop. He has no animals of his own.
February	**1**	Works in the field of the land owner for 25% of the crop. He has no animals of his own.
March	**1**	Works in the field of the land owner for 25% of the crop. He has no animals of his own.
April	**1**	Eats some of the product of his labour.
May	**1**	Eats some of the produce of his labour.
June	**1**	Takes a loan from the bazaar. 50% interest per year.
July	**0**	Takes a loan from the bazaar. 50% interest per year.
August	**0**	Takes a loan from the bazaar. 50% interest per year.
September	**0**	Takes a loan from the bazaar. 50% interest per year.
October	**2**	Eats food he has earned from the land- 25% (1/4)
November	**2**	Eats food he has earned from the land- 25% (1/4)
December	**2**	Eats food he has earned from the land- 25% (1/4)

SURKH SANG

Upper Wealth Group
Assets: 4 goats, 15 sheep, 12 lambs, 1 cow,1 donkey
Fahama from Surkh Sang says that she is 16 years old, though in truth she has been aged out of calculable time by work, hardship and the elements. She is the third member of her family. She takes care of the other children and helps her mother cook. Fahama is also responsible for the livestock and goes to the 4th class of the local school. Her brother collects grass from the mountains and helps her with the livestock. Her father tends the land when he is not teaching at the school. She wants to solve the water problem of the area, to build a clinic for women and establish a bakery.

Assets	Type of Asset
Natural	• 3 Natural Springs (fresh water) • Cropping dependant on snow fall. • Livestock numbers have fallen over time, largely as a result of disease, drought and the sale of livestock to mitigate debt, or before the winter in order to purchase food. • Accute shortage of water for irrigation. • Irrigated and rain fed lands. • Short cropping season • Grazing land on top of hills. • Situated next to a river which is running dry. • Reasonably good quality soil, though highly weathered. • Trees: Poplar, almond, apple, apricot. • Rainfed legumes brought in from Sharistan are proving successful. • Small land holdings. • Access to diminishing levels of mountain grasses and fodder.
Human	• Most of the population are farmers, with small land holdings averaging between 1-4 jeribs of land. • Most girls and boys go to school. • Clinic near by dealing with basic medical care, though difficulties in the delivery of children by women occurs throughout the winter. • Generally few skilled women. • Traditional farming skills. • Functioning shura. • No winter employment for men or women. • One man working in Afghan NGO. Is wealthier than the rest and has had more formal education. His family own the

	most land in the village.
Physical	• One tekhiya Khana (mosque) • Road • Houses, all reasonably well maintained. New houses being built. • No shop • Wells • no clinic in the village, nor school for either boys or girls. However, the community do have access to both reasonably close by. • 2 Nawoors (local check dams).
Social	• Mullah. • Shura • Women meet informally at weddings, funerals and occasionally gather to discuss particular issues. • "Water councils", composed of households around wells, springs and irrigation canals exist. They have a rotating means of control, whereby one household will manage the water for a a set period of time, before another household takes over.
Financial	• Few formal institutions • Few sources of income beyond farming, though some NGO projects have given some the opportunity for cash. The new school to be built by AKDN in neighbouring Shinya valley will provide cash to labourers. • Individual working with local NGO is the largest salary earner. • For the rest of the village, possible income from cash has been reduced by the effects of the drought. • The sale of animals at the end of the year means that farmers are selling at a time when the price for livestock is lowest. • Current skills such as weaving and masonary are not organised in such a way as to generate significant amounts of income. • Debts are increasing.

Food Security
Name: Qama
Wealth Group: Poor

Month	**Level of food Security**	**Details**

January	**0**	Bread, tea, Aashak (flour rolled up and boiled). Flour borrowed from the bazaar.
February	**0**	Bread, tea, Aashak (flour rolled up and boiled). Flour borrowed from the bazaar.
March	**0**	Bread, tea, Aashak (flour rolled up and boiled). Flour borrowed from the bazaar.
April	**1**	Bread, vegetables taken from the mountain, sour milk. Sell Qoroot, when possible, in the bazaar to buy rice.
May	**1**	Bread, vegetables taken from the mountain, sour milk. Sell Qoroot, when possible, in the bazaar to buy rice.
June	**1**	Bread, vegetables taken from the mountain, sour milk. Sell Qoroot, when possible, in the bazaar to buy rice.
July	**2**	Potato, turnip, rice, sometimes eggs, sometimes meat, soup.
August	**2/ 3**	Potato, turnip, rice, sometimes eggs, sometimes meat, soup.
September	**2/3**	Potato, turnip, rice, sometimes eggs, sometimes meat, soup.
October	**2/3**	Potato, turnip, rice, sometimes eggs, sometimes meat, soup.
November	**1**	Rice, bread, tea, meat.
December	**1**	Rice, bread, tea.

Surkh Sang
Food Security
Interviewee Mohammed Yakoob
Wealth Group- Middle
Age 48

Month	**Level of food Security**	**Details**
January	**0**	The food stored over the winter has almost finished. They usually do not have enough good quality food to get them through the season unless they are able to buy new goods.
February	**1**	Sometimes people are able to buy goods from the closest Bazaar, though this is often not the case.
March	**2**	They are able to find reasonably good quality food.
April	**3**	They sell their livestock and are able to buy good food.
May	**3**	They are able to sell some items, goods etc, and buy good food.
June	**3**	" "
July	**2**	They lose significant amounts of their assets selling livestock to buy more food.
August	**2**	" "
September	**1**	They have just enough food- rice and wheat but it is usually all poor quality.
October	**1**	" "
November	**2**	Some people come together and kill their animals and there is

		good food available.
December	**3**	Because of the cold weather they are able to store good quality food.

Surkh Sang
Food Security
Interviewee Qama
Female
Wealth Group- Upper

Month	**Level of food Security**	**Details**
January	**3**	Milk, yoghurt, animal oil, butter, Quroot, meat, eggs, mountain vegetables, dry foods, dry fruits, Aashak.
February	**3**	Milk, yoghurt, animal oil, butter, Quroot, meat, eggs, mountain vegetables, dry foods, dry fruits, Aashak.
March	**3**	Milk, yoghurt, animal oil, butter, Quroot, meat, eggs, mountain vegetables, dry foods, dry fruits, Aashak.
April	**3**	Milk, yoghurt, animal oil, doogh, meat.
May	**3**	Milk, yoghurt, animal oil, doogh, meat.
June	**3**	Milk, yoghurt, animal oil, doogh, meat.
July	**3**	Potato, turnip, rice, egg, sometimes meat, yoghurt, oil.
August	**3**	Potato, turnip, rice, egg, sometimes meat, yoghurt, oil.
September	**3**	Potato, turnip, rice, egg, sometimes meat, yoghurt, oil.
October	**4**	Dried meat, , eggs, potato, turnip, bread, tea,halwa, rice, Aasha, butter.
November	**4**	Dried meat, , eggs, potato, turnip, bread, tea,halwa, rice, Aasha, butter.
December	**4**	Dried meat, , eggs, potato, turnip, bread, tea,halwa, rice, Aasha, butter.

SHINYA

Middle Wealth Group
Assets: 8 seer of land, 2 goats, 9 sheep, 1 milk cow, 1 donkey

Before washing clothes, cleaning the house, tending to the livestock and helping her elder sister, Jahan Bakhat, 15 years old, goes to the 8th class of the local school. Her elder brother collects grass from the mountains and her father is a cook with an NGO. She has four other siblings, all at school in various grades. She has that shiny paleness of polished quartz. She wants, when she grows up, to be a doctor or an Engineer so that she may help the rest of the village and make it clean, hygienic and safe.

Assets	Type of Asset
Natural	• Soil quality good. • Trees- Poplar, apricot, apple. • Meeting place of two rivers, though both are currently running low, particularly since the onset of the drought. • Rain fed and irrigated lands. • Three springs
Human	• Most of the children are educated. • 3 teachers • Carpenters, masons and other skilled labour. • One well educated male and female. Both of whom are working for AFRANE NGO. • One male currently working for foreign NGO. His wife is a trained medical practitioner and has in the past provided care and medicine to the population.
Physical	• Boys and girls schools currently under construction. • General Shop • 3 wells • road. • Mill • Metal working and Carpentry shops • Mosque (currently under construction) • Lepco Clinic currently providing treatment for TB, leprosy, general examinations. They have medicine most of the time. • Houses all intact. • Nawoor

Background

Before the onset of the war with the Russians, the export of dried fruit and nuts constituted almost 37% of Afghanistan's foreign exchange earnings[1]. Shinya Tahkt, Waras, would have contributed little, if nothing to the total, and there appears slight likelihood that such a trend will be reversed in the near future. However, the gradual introduction of fruit trees in the face of an extended cyclical period of water shortage by a number of farmers in the area is a suggestion of both perseverance and of initiative, of the possibilities of replication across like geo- physical zones, the resolve of individuals and the natural environment, and is, at least partially, an indication of the coping mechanisms and livelihood patterns of the population.

Topographically divided into two broad valleys leading in an extended sweep towards Koh-i- Mekh mountain, the area covered by the baseline survey is ethnically homogenous, geographically consistent and delineated within the natural confines of a watershed boundary.

The difficulty with any baseline, with any survey, is discerning, siphoning and interpreting the miscellany of impressions which flow impetuously from the data. The short comings of this report, therefore, are my own, and should in no way reflect the great work undertaken by the survey team.

Special thanks go to Marc Theuss, who, donning sun glasses and floppy hat led a composite team of Qamber Ali from Baglan's M&E Unit, the select trio of Seema, Ehssanuddin Dilawar and Abdul Jan from the Kabul M&E Unit, Mushtaq Khan and Howagul from Bamyan's M&E unit and Bamyan's MAD team of Mohammed Haddi, Ghulam Sakhi, Fatima Hassan Zowdah and Khadija Aadil. Gratitude, while they may never know it, must also go to the people of Shinya Tahkt who were patient and generous enough to give time to the Baseline Survey and to tolerate, Marc with his sun glasses and floppy hat, Qamber Ali from Baglan, the select trio from Kabul, and Bamyan's M&E and MAD teams.

Why Shinya Tahkt

Identified as part of the MAD Programme, the baseline survey undertaken in Shinya Tahkt was intended to enrich a body of knowledge gleaned from previous investigations by the MAD team, to establish a base from which the impact of future MAD projects could be measured and to develop an understanding of the area to such an extent that informed decisions regarding the direction, mode and purpose of future interventions under the MAD programme could proceed.

Methodology.

The survey was based on the premise that a range of qualitative PRA methods were best suited to elicit data. To that end, a series of wealth ranking, village profiles, daily activity charts, seasonal, social and resource mapping techniques were employed. Quantitive data

[1] **The Development of Sustainable Livelihoods in the Eastern Hazarajat**, Afghanistan. Barry Pound 2003.

	• 2 schools, one boys, one girls, currently under construction. • Most of the female population illiterate.
Social	• Good links between Shura and other NGO's. • Project Management Committee established by AKDN for the construction of the girls school. • Women meet informally. • "Water Council".
Financial	• Money from labour for the construction of boys and girls schools. • One family owns a truck which they rent out to others. • Few formal structures for financial transactions. • Shepharding work available. One girl is paid to look after the flocks of the other residents of the village. She is paid on a yearly basis. • Sale of livestock is the principal form of income. Animals are often sold to traders who take the animals to Kabul/ Maydan Shahir and return with cash and commodities. • Women occasionally sell chickens and can keep the proceeds. • Migration of some of the men to urban centres. Though money is rarely sent back to the village.

SANG-E DUKHAN

Middle Wealth Group
Assets: 15 sheep, 5 goats, 1 milk cow, 1 donkey, 3 seer of land

Laila is a young girl. Her village, Sang- e- dukhan, lies at the base of the valley, towards the end of the MAD area and where the water from the river spills into a larger valley. At somewhere between 14- 16 her skin his rough and close lying. Her sister is both a student in the tenth class, and a teacher for the 5th, while she is in the 7th. Laila cleans the house and helps her brothers, whilst her older sister, Fatima, of twenty years old, makes bread for the family. They're mother tends to livestock. Her father works for AKDN. All the brothers of the household work in the fields, cutting grass and collecting wood. "I don't want" she said "to do this any more. I don't want to cut the grass. I want to help people who do not read or write and who don't know about many things. I want to talk, giving good advice in large meetings".

Assets	Type of Asset
Natural	Mountian grasses Moist grazing area Fruit trees-apple/ apricot. Good soil in most places around the village 1 spring
Human	Head of shura is from the village Many teachers are from the village All children go to school Close to clinic Carpenter Stone mason Mullah
Physical	Mosque Mill, however, not enough water to power it. Houses are in good condition. New ones are being built. Agricultural equipment. Road. School
Social	Shura Women meet together when there is an issue to be discussed, a wedding or a funeral.
Financial	Income from NGO projects. Head of shura works for AKDN. Sale of chickens by women.

TAHKTAK

Upper Wealth Group
Tayeb's face had a marmoreal quality. A moustache as stiff as a boot brush. Moderately tall, thin, beardless and conspicuously long- nosed. He had gone to Sharistan to buy lalmi seeds. He had seen them before and found they grew better than varieties distributed by NGO's. In Sharistan he also found some rainfed beans, which were growing well on his hills and he was looking to buy more for next year. He had also started small terracing work close to his house where he planned to grow fruit trees and a small kitchen garden for his wife to work on. "My idea for the area", he said "is to grow many fruit trees and sell them in Kabul and other places. My house is a long way from the village and I don't have much water. I need to transport everything by donkey to the road. I want to have better transportation to other places so I can sell my fruit in the future".

Agricultural Implements
Name of Famer: Mohammed
Age: 50

Type	Quantity	Use and details
Kunda	1	Made of wood. Borrowed from neighbour. It is the structure attached to Oxen- used for ploughing.
Iron for plough	1	Used for ploughing the land. Attached to Kunda. The iron cuts the soil and turns it over. Made in Afghanistan. Most are bought from Ghazni, Kabul and Jalalabad. Can also be purchased locally. It costs 200 Afs to be purchased from the local bazaar.
Atang	1	Can be bought locally and is of better quality though the price is higher than if bought from Kabul (200afs).
Scythe	5	Used for weeding. Sold locally.
Sickle	3	Used for cutting wheat, barley and grasses. Can be bought locally at a cost of 200 afs.
Risman	5	
Paroo	2	Shovel. Used for clearing after the harvest as well as to get rid of snow.
Hay- fork	2	Made of both wood and iron. Used during the harvest time to sift the grain from the wheat.
Chapar	1	Used for threshing during the harvest.
Shak- koi	1	Used for the cleaning of wheat.
Broom	2	Made of bushes. Made locally. Used after the harvet to clear the area.
Oxen	1	Rented 200 afs/ day. The oxen is from Sharistan.
Lang Ar	1	Used for threshing lalmi wheat. Large, wooden, conical shaped object, with blunt protruding wooden spikes.

Assets	Type of Asset
Natural	• 1 small river dry by late June/ July. • Significant number of fruit trees when compared to rest of the valley. Also large numbers of poplar. • 2 springs • Small irrigated land holdings with most land rainfed. • Good soil close to the village. • Good wheat crop (lalmi) Kal Khosha from Sharistan. • Rainfed legumes planted by one farmer.
Human	• 1 teacher • Few skills in village beyond women who have tailoring and some carpet weaving abilities. • 1 carpenter.
Physical	• Agricultural equipment. • Houses in good condition • Small path leads down the hill to the main road. 15 minutes walk from clinic and school. • ¾ wells • Mosque • Nawoor • Terracing work in one sub- village further up the valley. • Kitchen garden in one sub- village further up the valley.
Social	• Shura
Financial	• Fruit tress • Few livestock. • Poppy, though the yield was poor last year and is expected to be poor this year.

Name of Famer: Mohammed Eisa
Age: 45
Family members: 7
Wealth Group- Middle

Type	Quantity	Use and details
Oxen	**1**	He is the only owner of Oxen in the village. He requires two oxen in order to perform his work. He rents another oxen from Sharistan. It costs him 3500-4500 afs for one month.
Yoke	**Would not specify but**	For a cost of 200 afs. He had the local carpenter make the yoke.

	said he had enough for his needs.	
Plough	**1**	Had it made by the local carpenter at a cost of 600 afs.
Wood leveler	**1**	Bought it from the local carpenter for 200 afs, used for leveling the land.
Iron for Yoke	**1**	Made by the local metal worker for a cost of 200 afs.
Sickle	**1**	Bought from the bazaar.
Shovel	**1**	Bought from the bazaar. Prices generally range between 80- 120 afs.

SIA BOMAK

Poor Wealth Group

Ahmadullah came equipped to the meeting with the long dark folds of his mottled face, a wiry moustache and brisk yapping voice like the bark of a terrier. He is a farmer. His lands are small and suffer, as the others do, from the lack of water and declining yields. Two of his daughters go to the local school, one son scampers over mountain slopes collecting grasses and his wife and youngest daughter tend to the cow and small flock of sheep. He claims to like AKDN's improved wheat though complains that the birds eat the lalmi varieties. He has borrowed money from shop keepers in the bazaar and worries about the time when he has to repay the loan. "I will have to sell some of my livestock, I will not have any animals left. This is my life".

Many houses have children from Sharistan working in them. The children come to study in the local school and work as house boys.
Gully plugs made of quartz. Has had significant impact in reducing the amount of soil erosion.
Farmers here often borrow food from shop keepers. They repay the loan in Namads, or cash. High interest rates. 80% of the population are indebted in this manner. Other forms of indebtedness entail farmers giving land to the shop keeper, who can work the land until the debt is repaid. Farmers are rarely able to repay the loans.

Sia Bomak

Assets	Type of Asset
Natural	River, running very low. 1Spring Small landholdings, mostly rainfed. Moist grazing land shared with neighbouring village of Sang-e-dukhan.

Human	The majority of children attend school. Few skills amongst women, though many can sew and make carpets (namd). Low literacy and education levels amongst older population. Close to clinic Majority of men are farmers. Some work in neighbouring villages field cultivating poppy and harvesting wheat.
Physical	1 well
Social	Shura Women meet together when there is an issue to be discussed, a wedding or a funeral.
Financial	Earnings from work on other villages fields. Usually paid in wheat. No remittances from beyond the valley. Sale of animals and animal produce. No poppy. Women engaged in the sale of chickens and eggs.

RASHAK

- The wealthiest of Shinya Tahkt's villages.
- At the lower section of the MAD area.
- 5- 6 jeribs of land given over to poppy cultivation. Poppy by lower road side.
- Fruit trees- apple and Apricot.
- Large amounts of alfalfa and ghre gho.

Upper Wealth Group

Abdullah's taut skin was dented by thin sharp bones, prodding like the centre pole of a tent. He sat beneath a sharply outlined patch of shade. He is the wealthy son of a wealthy man. "I grow poppy", he said, "because then I will make more money for my family. Selling potatoes takes too much water and the price is not good. If I make a lot of money from poppy I can send my children to school and buy many things. I know poppy is not good, but I am not scared of the government cutting it down. That is God's will".

Assets	Type of Asset
Natural	• The meeting place of two rivers, though both are running low. • Trees: fruit trees, poplar. • Both irrigated and rainfed lands, apricot and apple. • Plenty of natural construction materials such as stone and gravel. • 5 Springs • Mountain
Human	• Most children attend school. • Teacher, tailor, carpenter • Clinic
Physical	• Mill • Mosque • Road • Houses in good condition • Farming equipment • Clinic • 3 nawoor • Terracing work along river • 4 wells.
Social	• Shura • Mambar (Mosque)
Financial	• Poppy: though yields last year were poor and are expected

	to be so this year. • Sale of produce of Fruit trees • Women sold chickens and eggs and kept the money. Many women had between 200- 500 Afs.

Daily Summer Activities

Head of Family: Mohammed Jawal
Interviewee- Wife: Miriam Age: 28
Number in Family: 6

Time	Activity
12 pm- 4 am	Sleep
4- 4.15	Prayer
4.15- 5.00	breakfast, feeding and milking of animals
5- 8	Cleaning the house, carrying water from the spring, taking the children to school.
8- 12	Collecting grasses and carrying grasses to the house.
12- 2	Lunch and milking the cows.
2-6	Return to the mountains to cut more grass and work in the fields.
6-8	Prayer, preparation for dinner.
8- 10	Eating dinner, listening to the radio, teaching the children.

Daily Winter Activities
Interviewee: Miriam
Age: 28
Number in Family: 6

Time	Activity
12.00-6	Sleeping
6- 6.15	prayer

6.15- 7	feeding fodder to the animals
7- 8	Having breakfast
8-9	Making bread and cleaning the house
9-12	Giving water to the animals and preparing the wood.
12- 1	Lunch and prayer
1-2	Giving fodder to the animals.
2-3	Preparing wool for clothes.
3-4	Preparing dinner.
4-5	Giving fodder to the animals and praying.
5-8	Eating
8-12.	Listening to the radio and teaching the children

Daily Activities during Autumn
Head of Family: Mohammed Jawal
Interviewee- Wife: Miriam
Age: 28
Number in Family: 6

Time	Activity
12-6 am	Sleeping
6- 6.15 am	Prayer
6.15- 7	Breakfast
7- 8	Feeding the animals
8-10	Cooking bread and an assortment of other activities.
10- 11	Watering and feeding the animals.
12- 4	preparing and eating lunch. Working on

	handicrafts, praying and washing of cloths and dishes.
4- 6.	Prayer and preparing the dinner
6-7	Feeding of the animals
7-8	Dinner and prayer.
8-12	Teaching the children and listening to the radio.

Daily activities during Spring
Head of Family: Mohammed Jawal
Interviewee- Wife: Miriam
Age: 28
Number in Family: 6

Time	**Activity**
12-5 am	Sleep
5- 5.15 am	Prayer
5.15- 8	Breakfast and taking the children to school.
8-9	Washing dishes, cleaning the house and bringing water for the house.
9-11	Taking the animals to water.
11-12.	Preparing the lunch
12- 2	eating lunch and preparing the animals fodder.
2-5	Working on handicrafts.
5-6	preparing the dinner.
6-8	Giving animals fodder and eating dinner.
8-9	Listening to the radio and teaching the children.
9-9.30	Preparing the rooms.
9.30-	Sleeping

on land tenure, amounts of irrigated and rainfed land, livestock ownership and migration patterns was also gathered.
Underpinning the entire baseline process was the DFID livelihoods kite model, whereby individual and community human, physical, natural, financial and social assets were explored. An understanding of the context in which such assets exist and the vulnerabilities to which they submit, as well as the coping mechanisms used by the population of the area covered by the survey to deal with such vulnerabilities was examined.

Photos were taken to record farming practices, survey methodology, resources, settlements, and individuals.

Interviews were conducted both with groups and individuals, with de- briefing sessions conducted at the end of each day with the team.

Length of Survey.
7 days

Scope of the Survey

Using the DFID livelihoods model as the base from which data was collected, a number of areas were explored.

- **Physiography** (size, shape, relief and drainage points as perceived by community members)
- **Soil properties** (an understanding of how farmers interpret the soil and soil quality)
- **Vegetative cover and trees** (types, uses).
- **Land use practices** (traditional/ introduced crops and varieties, cultivation techniques, yields, proportion of produce sold/ used for subsistence, use of by-products).
- **Nature and distribution of rainfall and snow fall**.
- **Natural vulnerability factors**.
- **Socio- economic factors** (social organisation/ power structures and institutions, population of the area, population structure, sex, age, ethnic groups, occupations, population distribution, population migration patterns, economic and social activities, understanding of land holdings, land rights and ownership, farming practices, size of farms, division of labour indebtedness).
- **Livestock** (species, benefits there of, feed types and sources, uses, types for sale and reasons why, limitations).
- **Water Sources** (availability, security)
- **Storage and processing** (how food is stored, what types).
- **Sources of income** (off- farm/ on farm).
- **Community ideas** for the future.

Daily Winter Activities
Interviewee: Abdul Hamed
Upper Wealth Group

Time	Activity
12-6 am	Sleep
6- 6.30 am	Prayer
6.30- 8.00	Breakfast
8.00- 9.00 9.00- 12.00	Cleaning the stables
12.00- 1.00	Clear the snow and feed the animals.
1.00- 2.00	Meet in the mosque
2.00- 4.00	Pray and eat lunch.
4.00- 600	Feeding of the animals.
6.00- 7.30	Cleaning the stables.
7.30- 8.00.	Going to the mosque
8.00- 11.00	Feeding of the animals
11.00- 11.30	Eating dinner.
11.30- 12.00	Telling stories with the family.

Daily Activities Summary.

Few discrepancies emerge upon close examination of the daily activities within and between villages in Shinya Tahkt. However, and while perhaps obvious, what becomes clear, is the very sensitivity of communities to the elements, the seasons, the vagaries of weather and temperature, their proximity to nature. Also evident are the distinct divisions of labour, manifested as much between the sexes as between generations and wealth groups. Seasonality affects the amount of work done by both men and women, with the summer and warmer months requiring greater time and effort.

Women's space and time is divided between livestock and food preparation, cleaning of the house, the collection grasses and teaching of children. With the younger generations of girls and boys going to school, an additional burden in workload has been added to the daily activities of parents, particularly women. This situation has become particularly acute since the departure of much of the landless labourers in response to declining yields and so reductions in earnings.

Daily activities are a reflection of a routine designed and instilled at an early stage to perpetuate survival. What is interesting about any analysis of the situation is the manner in which relatively new concepts such as formal education have been adopted and incorporated into daily life.

The place of religion is important as well. Prayer exists not so much as an activity between others, but bookmarks the daily life of the valleys inhabitants, is a specific activity of its own, starting and ending the day, a non- negotiable, intangible activity amongst a sea of very practical actions.

Of note, there was little mention of socializing, meetings or formal gatherings between women, even with other relatives in other households. This may be a reflection of the age of women interviewed, but it is more likely a indication of general findings from the baseline survey that women have no formal institutional structures.

CHARITY

Shinya Tahkt
Name unknown
9 members in the family
30 years old
Woman with 2 sons

(as dictated by a village woman)

"On the first night of little Eid, Shab-e- Mordah, and the first night of the large Eid, Eid Qorban, a sheep and cow is killed. The wealthy give some Zakhat to the poor and meat is distributed throughout the village. There is a lot of pressure on people to give food, whether they be rich or poor in the big Eid. This puts a lot of pressure on the poor.

Charity is also given on Nowrooz (New Year). All the villagers will cook some food and take it to the Mosque. The food is then distributed throughout the village.

Should somebody die, the people of the village will arrange to give food, tea, bread and meat on the first night. On the third night, members of the community will give charity to the family of the deceased. This is called "Ros-e- Seam". Charity is also received on the 10th day of mourning called Ros-e- Chelum.

If a woman falls ill, other women will come together and will send food and various forms of medicine to her house.

On the tenth day of Moharram, Ashura, people collect money, livestock, wheat, wood and flour, and deliver it to the mosque. All people are obliged to participate in this".

COMMUNITY IDEAS FOR DEVELOPMENT

Community Idea	Motivation	Location	Gender
Erosion control and soil/ water conservation	Stem erosion, increase productivity of land and soil, conserve water.	Throughout the valley, though efforts had already been made in Rashak and Sia Bomak.	Male and female
Transportation	Increase access to markets and facilitate the movement of people to places of better health care and educational opportunities.	Throughout the valley.	Male
Driving lessons	Some felt that if transportation could be obtained few in the valley new how to drive.		Female
Metal working shop	Sale of metal goods.	Shinya	Male
Bee- keeping	Plenty of flowers around for the bees. Wanted to sell honey in the bazaar.	Surkh Sang	Male and Female
Fruit trees	Wanted to sell fruit in bazaar	Kota, Shinya, Rashak	Male
Mill (to be powered by a generator)	Mill exists but the generator is broken.	Naw-e-Towa	Male
Forestry	Sell trees to Kabul/ Bamyan/ Mazar	Shinya, Kota	Male
Carpentry	Making boxes and window frames.	Shinya	Male
Livestock	For sale of produce and animals themselvs, increased food and ploughing.	Throughout valley	Male and Female
Poultry	For sale of eggs (the money of which will then be used for other things).	Shinya	Female
Qaroot	For sale	Rashak, Shinya	Female
Carpet making	Selling carpets.	Throughout the valley	Female and Male

Handkerchief making	For sale	Kota, Shinya	Female and Male
Business/ trading	Grocery store/ General store.	Naw-e- Tawa, Kota, Shinya	Female and Male
Saplings/ Nursery	Establishing nursery for sale of fruit and saplings in the future. Also wanted to make a business of buying saplings in Sharistan and selling to others in the community.	Kota, Shinya	Male
Bakery	Earn money by baking bread for others when they bring dough.	Shinya	Female
Women's Literacy	Increase women's	Throughout valley	Female
Health and Hygiene education	Reduce infant mortality, decrease water borne and other diseases.	Throughout valley	Female
Crop diversification	Diversification of diet, sale of different varieties.	Tahtak, Surkh Sang, Kota	Male
Training	Business and in technical skills such as weaving and carpet making.	Throughout the valley.	Female

SUMMARY

In as much as Bamyan is constrained by its natural environment, as much as its people have suffered and face hardship, there exists, inevitably and unavoidably, tremendous potential. The ingenuity of its farming systems, the tenacity of its farmers, the strength of its indigenous knowledge base and the existence of local technologies that while basic, function effectively in their environs, contrive to ensure that well targeted, community driven development interventions have a significant opportunity to enhance the livelihoods of the population. Possibilities for genuine rural development based around community recognised needs and initiatives, in areas such as infrastructure, agriculture, horticulture, aquaculture, animal husbandry and watershed management are at once extensive and essential.

Sample of Questionnaire Used

Date: Name of interviewer:

Name of village:

Province: District:

Number of households: Population:

Number of participants:

Names of people being interviewed:

Human assets
How many days of school do children miss from illness?
how many children do people have on average?
What are the main diseases children suffer from?
What percentage of people have education up to grade 6/ 10/ 12?
What skills do people have (carpentry, carpet making)?
What access do they have to training and further education?
What type of food do they eat in the summer, winter, autumn, spring?
What ideas do they have for training. Why haven't they done this, what is stopping them doing this training?

*Physica*l-
What infrastructure exists in the village?
What access to infrastructure do they have- roads- vehicles?
What are the costs of travel?
What ideas do they have to improve infrastructure, why haven't they done this, whats holding them back?

Financial-
What do they produce?
How much do they produce?
Do they sell it or consume it themselves?
What are the changes in seasonal prices for main commodities?
Do they receive remittances- from where- how regularly?
What percentage of income comes from remittances?
Most income is generated in- kind or in cash?
Where do they sell their commodities?
What is the cost of transporting goods to the places they are to be sold?
What percentage of income comes from cash for work?
What percentage of people have debts ?
From where do they borrow money?
At what rates do they borrow money?
How are people paid in the village- sharecroppers- what percentage of earnings do they make?
What ideas do they have to increase their income?
Why haven't they done this, what is holding them back?

Social-
What institutions exist in the village?
Who is part of these institutions?
Who is excluded from them?

Desrcribe the shura- how often it meets, who attends?
How are decisions made?
How are people informed about meetings and decisions made?
How often does the leadership change?
How was the leader chosen?
Do you have a Seed bank?
Who manages it?
What ideas do they have for the future of seed banks- how can they use the wheat seed or money in the seed bank?
What ethnic, religious groups exist in the village. What is the relationship between them?
Who are the important decision makers?

Do a wealth ranking with one or two villagers to understand who is wealthy and who is not.

Natural-
Land, water, trees- What access do people have to these natural resources?
Has the natural environment been getting better or worse over the last 10 years?
What types of resources did they have in the past that they don't now?
What is the soil like on their land?
What have they tried to grow that has failed and why?
Where are the sources of water?
What is the distance to the water source?
When do they dry up?
Who controls peoples access to land and water?
Who regulates water usage?
What do they do for water when the river is dry?
Why do they think there is erosion on their land?
How do they think they can stop it?
What ideas have they got to improve the natural environment?
Why haven't they done this, what's holding them back?

Do a land ranking with villagers to see who owns the most land and who has the least.

Transect Walk

Walk with some villagers through the village (transect walk). Have the villagers point out important resources, places, areas of conflict. Walk through the fields. Have villagers point out types of plants that are used and what they are used for. Have then show who owns what lands, tell how they own it, who has access to it, who does not.

Livestock
What breed of cows. Sheep, goat do you have?
Why do you have this breed?
What are the advantages and disadvantages of each breed?
Do they suffer from any diseases, which ones, how do you deal with this?

What access to a veterinary services and animal medicine do you have?
What are the animals fed in the summer/ winter?
Who makes decisions about which livestock to buy?
How much milk do the cows/ goats produce?
What is the quality of the wool of the goats and sheep.
What are the livestock used for- selling, eating, pulling ploughs, their milk?
How many goats/ sheep/ cows do people have on average?
Has there been a change in the number of livestock over the past ten years and why.
How and where are animals kept over the summer/ winter?
When/ why/ how are animals sold?
Who looks after the animals at home, in the fields?
What are the price differences between animals in summer, winter, spring, autumn?

Forestry
What type of trees are there around?
What are the trees used for?
How many trees are there?
Has there been a change in tree numbers over time? Why?
If tree numbers have been reduced, have you seen a change in the environment as a result?

Farming practices
What crops are grown under irrigation?
What crops grown under lalmi?
What are the differences in yield?
What are the soil management/ water conservation techniques?
What are the crop rotation patterns?
When do you cultivate what crops?
How often do you irrigate your lands?
Are your seeds improved or local?
If improved, where did they come from?

Seasons/ seasonality
What crop do they harvest in what season?
When is the dry season?

Land ownership
Common property- who has access to it, what can they use it for?

Sanitation information
See attached survey.

Factors contributing to vulnerability
Social factors
Are all children allowed to go to school. Until what grade can they attend?

Shinya Tahkt

Introductory Data

Altitude: 2808 m- 2901m

Coordinates: Lat N 34 01'18.26"
Lon E 66 40' 45.05"

Temperature and Weather:

Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
Rain and wind. March/ April rainy period.	Warm, dry weather. No rain.	During evening a lot of wind. Drop in temperature. Sometimes rain towards the end of the season.	Snow starting December. 1-2 metres of snow possible.

Name of main river: Darya Sarree Tahkt

NGO's: LEPCO Clinic (soon to close to be replaced by ADRA Comprehensive Health Clinic some 2 hours away)
: AFRANE
: AKF
: OXFAM (have had activities in the past, but are currently not active in the area).

Political
security
mines

Economic
Debt
Bad investment

Natural
Locusts
Sickness
drought
flood
cold
insecure water supply

Vulnerability coping strategy for the above vulnerabilities.
How many people have migrated from the village?
What are the sources of income during summer, winter, autumn, spring?
Which members of the family earn an income, when, how**?**
How important is each crop to peoples livelihoods?
Has the length of the difficult- hungry period changed over the past few years?
How much have prices for what is produced change over time?
What percentage of household food is grown/ bought?
What do people do when they need money?
At what time of year do people have the most/ the least money?
How are people trying to conserve water?
How are they trying to stop erosion?

General ideas to improve their lives for the future

Why not achieved, what is stopping them?

Village Data

Name of village	**Approx. Population** (based on an average size of 6 per family)	**Approx. number of families**	**Number of households**	**Number of Water structures**	**Approx. number of livestock**	**Skills**	**Land use patterns (figures approximate).**	**Mig**
Qota	630	105	58	1 Karez 2 wells	Sheep 180 Goats 20 Cattle 21 Donkey 18	Carpet weaving (5 women), carpentry (1 man) Tailors (10 women), Farmers.2 stone masons. 2 farmers growing fruit trees.	Irrigated Land 30%, rainfed 70%	3 fan
Naw-e-Towa	144	24	17	0 Karez 1 well	Sheep 85 Goats 15 Cattle 6 Donkey 8	Skilled labour. 1 stone mason.	Irrigated Land 60%, rainfed 40%	0
Surkh Sang	108	18	12	1 Karez 2 wells	Sheep 110 Goats 16 Cattle 8 Donkey 11	Working for NGO Shuhada (1 man) Teacher (1 man)	Irrigated Land 60%,rainfed land 40%	0
Shinya	240	40	20	0 Karez 4 wells	Sheep 140 Goats 27 Cattle 18 Donkey 23	5 male Carpenters, farmers, 1 male Blacksmith ,1 trained female nurse (not from the valley but married to someone	Irrigated Land 60%,rainfed land 40%	0

						who is) 1 man working for AFRANE. 5 skilled labourers. Stone masons		
Sang-e-Dukhan	168	28	15	1 Karez 3 Wells	Sheep 150 Goats 18 Cattle 7 Donkey 18	3 Teachers (female, 1 male), Carpenter (1 male), Agricultur al extension worker for AKDN.	Irrigated Land 60%, rainfed Land 40%	9 Fa
Sia Bomak	54	9	5	0 Karez 2 wells	Sheep 80 Goats 10 Cattle 5 Donkey 7	Tailors (4 female), 2 Teachers	Irrigated Land 30%, rainfed Land 70%	2 Fa
Rashak	102	17	9	0 Karez 2 wells	Sheep 87 Goats 9 Cattle 9 Donkey 8	Farmers	Irrigated Land 60%, rainfed land 40%	
Tahktak	120	20	15	0 Karez 1 well	Sheep 140 Goats 21 Cattle 9 Donkey 11	Carpenter 1, Female Carpet maker 25, Teachers 3 (2 males, 1 female).	Irrigated Land 40%, rainfed land 60%	5 fam
Total	1566	261	151	3 (Karez) 17 (wells)	1295			

Soil Types

**Quality ranked by farmers. No scientific testing has occurred as yet.*

Soil Colour	**Ranking**
Black	Highest ranking by farmers. Believed to be the most fertile with the best water retention.
Yellow	Poor quality. Most common type.
Green	Good quality
Red	Good quality
White	Poorest quality

Livestock

Sheep

One species only, known as "Hazaragi". Attempts to introduce other species have failed and options, since the Kuchi have left the area to add new varieties by the local population are limited. The current species appears to be the only one that can survive the extremes of temperature experienced in Shinya Tahkt. Hazaragi sheep are known to give birth twice a year, have good tasting meat, good quality wool that can be shorn from the sheep twice a year, and produce sufficient quantities of milk. The wool is used for the production of Namads*.

In the past, farmers would buy Kandahari sheep from the Kuchi's. The Kuchi's would only sell male sheep, presumably as a means of ensuring a market for the next year. The kandahari breed, while liked by farmers for the quality of wool and meat would need to be slaughtered before the winter because they were unable to survive the cold.

**Namads are thick woolen carpets of varying thickness, quality and colour. They are made by women during the Autumn for home use only though a market does exist for their sale. The wool is first combed using a "shawna", then stretched and attached to a wooden weaving frame. Hot water is added and the wool hand rolled using ones elbows. The "sheets" of wool are needed, one atop the other. After two- three hours the namad is placed in the sunshine and stretched flat. The process is repeated three times.*

Cows and bulls

Traces of Indus in the variety, but essentially local breed. Only one species currently in the area. Oxen used for ploughing, cows for milking. Milk yields are low. Grazed in the lower valleys. Fed on a various forms of fodder including alfalfa, "pawlee", "ghree gho", straw and clover.

Goats

Local breed. Kept for milking and human consumption. Hair of poor quality but used for the production of Kilims (Kilims are a composite of goat and sheep hair. Made by women using large framed weaving structures, goat hair is used in the "tawnab", width direction, whilst sheep hair is used length ways "bowfa").

Shearing periods

Spring	*Summer*	*Autumn*	*Winter*
Sheep shorn first month of spring. Goats shorn in the second month of Spring.	Second shearing of sheep occurs in the second week of summer.	Sheep shorn for the second time in the middle of Autumn.	

* The hair and wool, once shorn, is stored in basket of Surkh Bayd (Red Willow) and kept in the house.

Birthing Periods

Spring	*Summer*	*Autumn*	*Winter*
Sheep and goats born in the early months of Spring.		First month of Autumn- second birthing period.	

Buying and Selling of animals

Spring	*Summer*	*Autumn*	*Winter*
Early Spring both goats and sheep are bought. This is the period when the price for the animals is highest.		During Autumn animals are bought and sold in order to buy goods for the winter. This is the period when the price for animals is lowest.	

*In Shinya, most animals are bought and sold within the valley.